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[English]	Mundurucu
to give--unheme	
I give	une unheme
you give	ene unheme
he gives	inhedhe-ate unheme
they [masc.] give	inhedianhe unheme
to be a man--anhocate dhẽ	
I am a man	une dhẽ anhocate
you are a man	ene dlhẽ [sic] anhocate
he is a man	inhe dhẽ anhocate
they are men	inhedianhe anhocate
to eat--uchecune	
I eat	une uchecune
you eat	ene edhuũ
he eats	inhedhẽẽ udhuũ
they [masc.] eat	inhedianhe udhuũ

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[English]	Mundurucu
I'm coming [eu já vou]	udhebequé
regards to yourself [?] [lembranças para ti mesmo]	ecatu dhe euẽ bẽ
all Mundurucu are kinsmen	Mundurucus [sic] nheẽn dhiu anhum umain
my soul goes to heaven	ubiumbé cabi cahi dhe
I miss my mother	nheben nexi cahi
I miss my son	nheben opute cahi
I am your friend	une ubei xixi
I shall not see you again	nhan sẽn ehuame dhei une

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The following table will facilitate comparison of the Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages.

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COMPARATIVE OUTLINE

[English]	Quechua	Aymara	Tupi	Mundurucu
man	runa	hake	apgaua	anhocate
woman	huarmi	marmi	cunhã	aiatiate
head	uma	ppekeña	akanga	uiaã
face	ceakilla	Nauna	rua or çuá	ueirupá
eye	nahui	nayra	teçá	ueta
ear	rinri	inchu	apiçaqua	oenhembõe
hand	maki	ampara	imbõ	ubaranã
sun	inti	inti	guaraci	caxi
moon	killa	phakhi	jacy	caxi-âte
I	noca	na	ixé or xé	une
water	jacu	uma	y	iribi
he	pay	hupa	abe	inhendhe
to eat	micumi	mankatha	u	uchecne

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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PRIMITIVE MAN

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MUNDURUCU MOIETIES

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INTRODUCTION

101 THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Jurueña Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [161] 950 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [177] Wiaunyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Mutum, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiaunyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. 101 Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. 161 The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kuruáya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

174 formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribesman with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very mixed dialect. On the one hand their light skin and the collossally [142] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time, unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand ●197 words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from tribes living far to the south and the north. *

*The Mundrucu word for "bird" is nuässa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., nuoi Moso. "Body": oi täpit M., pitpeté Tamanaco. "Sun": uäschi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, saache Moxo. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghcori, which is to say "fast water"; it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogirus. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. * In the table which follows [397]

*Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: öcka. T. cururü, "toad,"

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M. gorãgorã. T. camy (cama hy) "milk," M. icamutũ. T. paia "father," M. paipai. T. maia "mother," M. maihi. T. pacóba "banana," M. bacobá.

on page 398 we have collected several words for comparison with other dialects. As with many Guck dialects there is in Mundrucu a possessive pronoun (oi, ui, woi, in Tupi it is xe or ijé) prefixed to parts of the body. Individual words from the Galibi and Island Caribs languages are echoed here but not so clearly as in the instances showing relationship to the Guck dialects. There is no connection whatsoever with Aruac, although some words of this latter tongue belong to the female dialect of those Caribs who have taken as wives the women of the conquered Aruac.

As far as similar words from the dialects of the Moxos, Chiquitos, Tamanacs, Vilelas, Galibis, Omaguas and Kechuan are concerned we are far from any idea of laying any linguistic weight on such isolated phenomena. But an ethnographer who is interested in understanding the nature of the splitting and regrouping of the American tribes can permit himself to use such evidence which indicates a restless, continual recasting of human society in forms which, however new, are still essentially identical. If phonetic similarity of the words is not a matter of sheer chance we have to assume, as in many analagous cases, that the Mundrucus too have come in contact with the above-mentioned tribes and have taken over words from them, in pure or corrupt form. Or we must assume that their present dialect, like other dialects, is the remainder from a long process of linguistic change and decay in a common original tongue. For further comparison a list of such words is inserted here.

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
head	oi jã	acanga	yakaih, yacae	oupoupou, opoupou	boũpou, ichic, (my ichéukê	prutpe	isihi daa (my schi, da sey
eye	ui etã	teca	sisasay	enourou	énoulou Fem. aku	januru	da kusi
nose	ue inampõ(1)	tim	tiy	enetali, natali	ichiri	jonarri	da siri, isihiri
mouth	woi pi	yuru(2)	yuru	embatari,	tiboũtali,	mãari	da liroku,
tongue	wai co	apeco	ghumũela, cumuera	nourou, enourou	inigné	nuru	
hand and finger	woi põ	po	pur	apori(5)	capo(6)	jamnari	da kabbuhu

1. Nampõ, "nose" reminds one of namby, "ear" in Tupi.
2. In Aruac jũru means the cylinder woven of guaramà (maranta) cane for squeezing grated manioc.
5. Finger: amo, yamori in Galigi.
6. Hand and finger: nu ("my" bouki, nu boupé in Moxo.

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
stars	cassutá	jacytata	seso	serica, siricco	oualoucouma	chirica	wiwa
earth	ipy	yby (aeghwy)	tuyuca (4)	nono, soye	nonun, f. monha	nono	wunabu, ororu
night	tschüma	pytuna	tepusa, epuessa	vooquo	huétou, f. araibo	coco	wai
water	hü	hy, ügh	uni	touna	tonê	tuna	wuni, wuniabbo
fire	taschá	tatá	tata	ouato	ouattou, illeme uapto (8)		hikkihi, ikhihi
river	igury, yghcori	yguacu	balaná	eicourou, ipoliri	tona		wuin
yes	nlemai	pa, f. hehe	aisy	terré, teré	hanhan, terée		he kurrü, ehé hesé
no	gaamnuö	aaninhe		luayá	ouane, oua ouati		kurrü, kaké, koake (or ne suffix.

4. Tuyuca, in Omagua "earth," means in colloquial Tupi "mud."

8. Is it a matter of pure chance that among the Tamanacos, Galibis, and Island Caribs a fish is called uoto, oto and áoto, the name for fire is uapto, ouato, ouatto (which is also the name for gadfly)? Or is there here a conventional transfer of meanings in things which stand in a kind of contrast?

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
arm	woi pa	gyba, (jua)	yüca, iehua	yaboule, apori	aréunna	japari	da deneina
foot	woi cana-püta	py	püeta	ipoupou	Caraib oupou(7)	ptari	da cuty
shoulder	woi aipia	atyba(3)	yüca hanuahla	imötali	imoütali	mgoi	
belly	woi öck	teghe	ce hueca, syrica	onimbo	huémbou, f. oullacae	ueni	da deybayou
blood	tuy	tughy	shüe	moinou	timoinalou, f. ita, itaheu		curisa
sun	uäschi	coaracy	ghualachy, huarassi	veiou hueiou	huéyu, f. cachi	vejü	haddali
moon	uaschiat	jacy	yacü	nouna, nouno	nonum, f. cäti	nuna	katsi, katti

7. Foot: ni bope in Moxo.
3. Atycupe means in Tupi "on the shoulder," yatacupi means in Omagua "on my shoulder."

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°–8° S., long. 56°–60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitáua), in the municípios of Maués, Parintins, and Juritĺ, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Río de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú:* The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú,* on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Curuaya,* on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Curuá do Ririí; and the Juruena River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Njambikwaras.* Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name *"Madeira Mundurucú"* as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya,*

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the past tense is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture so described no longer persists.

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [576 219] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [422] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Urubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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of descent, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality. That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1954).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1938:975). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the waters of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:4–5). Traders and government officials capitalized on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanas (Hartt 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:59). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867: 395). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

● 197 On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [177] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [174] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

10 13 [161] The Munduruc6 Indians are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. 197 Linguistically, the Munduruc6 are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not 181 mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Munduruc6 and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Munduruc6 history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

Habitat

133 The Munduruc6 habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

131 The traveler en route to the Munduruc6 country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundury, and Abacaxis rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

[1] Nimuendajú, 1939, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.